J I 192 [142 cont.] whereas there is one for the particular. The Malayan languages are thus rich in the latter, but poor in the former. This holds especially for Javanese.

When one examines the stock of words of the Malayan languages, it is seen that a great many words have been borrowed from other languages, three in particular, Old Indic, Sanskrit, and Arabic.

J I 192 177 Sanskrit has had the greatest influence on the languages of the archipelago (4), which is not surprising since the Malayan

4. Crawfurd, Indian Archipelago, Vol. II, p. 106 ff. Crawfurd, Malay Grammar, dissertation, XLVII. Maxwell, Malay Language, p. 8, note.

peoples received their first civilization from the Indians. They received their script, their literature, and even their religion from the Hindus. Only the Javanese and Malayan words, however, were borrowed directly from the [143] Hindus, and therefore the greatest number of these words is found in these languages.

B M L-R 192 197 The other languages of the archipelago, such as Batak, Dajak, Makassarese, and Buginese, acquired them indirectly through the Javanese and Malays. As regards Batak, Dr. van Tuuk has proved that the Sanskrit words in that language were brought in by Malayan peoples, because, as their form shows, they were first altered in accordance with the phonetic laws of the Malayan language (1). With reference to Makassarese

1. Van der Tuuk, Tobasche Spraakkunst, Introduction, VI.

and Buginese, Dr. Matthes says that the Sanskrit words in them, which are few in number, came in through Javanese and

Bali OF7
Javanese OE5
Makassar OG6
Borneo OC1
Batak OD5

BI [147 cont.]
191 attributed to Javanese influence. Here, however, there are no
197 definite names for the three varieties of language. Another
I distinction is that between old and new language. Thus, one
J speaks of Old Javanese, or Kawi, and New Javanese (2), Old
MK
197

2. Veth, Java, Vol. I, pp. 407 ff.

and New Buginese (3), etc.

3. Matthes, Boegineesche Spraakkunst, Introduction. Matthes, Makassaarsche Spraakkunst, Introduction, VIII.

MK A third distinction is made between the ordinary language
198 and the one used at religious ceremonies. This is often even the rule and naturally so, because religious formulas remain unchanged even though the language changes. For instance, the pagan priests, bissu, of the Makassarese and Buginese use a special language (4), as do the balian of the Dajak, which is called

Br
198

4. Matthes, Iets over de Bissoe's [Something about the Bissu], etc., p. 2. Hardeland, Dajaksche Grammatik, pp. 7-9.

basa sangiang, language of the spirits. These languages are primarily distinguished by [148] the use of words that the people do not understand, words that are either obsolete or adopted from other languages and that even the priest themselves often no
Bt longer comprehend. A similar language among the Batak is
198 called hata pangaraksaon and is used by soothsayers to conjure the spirits. This is not an obsolete language, however, but is more flowery language with circumlocutions, with which even lifeless objects are addressed as though they were persons. They are given names taken from one or another property of the object.

Ambon OH4 Minangkabau OD10 Tagalog OA36
Ceram OH9 Makassar OG6 Gorontolo OGH
Sundanese OD7 Malays AN5
Madurese OD6 Batak OD5
Moluccas OH1 Borneo OC1

T G 198 Br MK Bt Md Sn Ml Mn I G Mo A C 197 [148 cont.] the Tagalog use the so-called Kawi whenever [149] two persons speak with each other and do not want a third person to understand them. Instead of tubig = water, they say bigtu. The name Kawi itself is a transposition of wika = to speak. The same applies to the Alfoer of the Minahasa and the Badjo [Bajau] who wander along the coast.

Finally, we still have to discuss another characteristic of the archipelago's languages, the splitting into dialects, which, of course, has developed further in some languages than in others. There are no dialectical differences in some of the languages, for example, Minangkabau and Riouw Malay, Sundanese, Madurese, Batak, Makassarese, and Buginese. The situation is quite different for other languages, however, such as Dajak, which consists of a number of dialects, and the Alfoer of the Minahasa, which although spoken by only 150,000 persons who inhabit a very small stretch of land, has eight dialects. It is even more pronounced in the bahasa tanah, which is spoken on the Moluccas. It consists of a great number of dialects, each of them localized in one or more villages lying very close to one another and wholly unintelligible to the inhabitants of other places. On the small island of Ambon alone, ten dialects are used (1). It is the same on the island of Ceram. On the

1. Van Hoëvell, Ambon, pp. 93 ff. Cf. also the language list in Ludeking, Schets van de Residentie Amboina [A Sketch of the Residency of Ambon], pp. 197 ff.

north coast in the Wahaai division alone there are 15.

I 197 174 The splitting of the original language into so many dialects was the unavoidable consequence of the separation of the various tribes and the lack of communication between them resulting from their wars and feuds.

Accordingly, the language developed and was modified

the room, and the children looked on from here and there. 156
The Imam was remarkably poised, as are all these folks. 502
Van Heekeren remarked that it is a natural noblesse and 576
courtesy, and added that he believes this is not to be found among the boers of Holland but that it does exist in England. The Imam listened politely as Rahim explained what we were interested in, and van Heekeren and I broke in from time to time in Malay. They spoke Makassarese which has many [197] words which are easy to understand as it is similar to Malay. I think I could learn it in a short time. Both Rahim and van 123
Heekeren said that the reason we went to see these leading people [i.e. the local karaëng and imam--Analyst] was that later, if we had not, they might be against me, for they would hear of me and say, "Why didn't he come to see me too?," therefore it seems wise to see every key man first and pay the proper respects to them. Rahim said that this 793
Imam is modern. Also, he is the leading religious man in 624
the district. The organization runs something like this. At the head is the karaëng, and together with him is the head imam of the mosque (like mukim Atjeh?). There is also a secretary in the district. I wonder if there is a district council or if there are other officers? Then, in each kampong, there is a chief, a Mohammedan teacher, and possibly other officers (?). The karaëng, in all important questions, asks for the advice of the kampong chiefs. They speak to the elders. Of the latter there is no set number, and no formal council. Thus there is a notable difference from Java and Sumatra. These elder, noted men in each kampong (Rahim said there are perhaps ten in Balombaru) give their opinion, and the chiefs then pass on the opinion to the karaëng.

The wife of the Imam served us coffee and native cake 609
which was heavy but good. We sat in chairs, of which there 574
were plenty. Rahim explained our plan forcefully and well. 352
The Imam got it all, and seemed well impressed. The point 156
was made that Indonesia is an important place and should be better known in the United States. The Imam remarked favorably on the native living of both Cense and Chabot, who, when [114] in the kampongs, ate with their hands. Cense was evidently like a father to them. I noted that Rahim told the story regarding my reading in the literature that the Makassarese were supposed to be hard folk and then about the people giving me bananas on the way back to Makassar from Malino. The Imam was impressed and amused. This is a good story for me as it shows the necessity of more knowledge. I am constantly impressed by the self possession of this Imam.

House status marks: little is known about the rules concerned with the number of piles, but much is known about the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written in Friederici. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew most of the names and events in the legends of origin, including the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they may go where they

342 114 554 565 773 591

Feasts: there seem[illegible]ave been a considerable decline in the Makassarese [illegible]uch as the presence of the pakarena, as more and [illegible]ran, Bali, and other practices came in. For example, one of the men said that they were having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting?

177 535 527 574

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna.

186 173

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there.

778

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing.

197●

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day.

241 262

157 was adamant. The Minangkabau man said that no human
114 sympathy, feeling, or responsibility was shown. He added that he is afraid because of the many unfriendly faces all around. He is an Indonesian, a stranger here.

661 The old Sulewatang, who is Minister of Public Information
829 here, gave a speech on government. Someone in the audience asked him what democracy meant. He said it meant unques-
184 tioning obedience to the orders of the radja. Then I heard
563 something really good. There are two kampongs near Pam-
161 panua, one called Welado and the other Udjung. The people
582 there are known to be different and Andi said they formerly had no adat. But they are reported to have "learned". Udjung and Welado, especially the latter, speak Buginese with a definite accent. Later, on our way to Pampanua, we passed Welado which Andi says has a population of 10,000. It is a dark, dank place on the river with ramshackle houses. Still, it is no more so than most Buginese kampongs. The people seem to me (imagination?) to be a bit negroid. Anyway, Friedericy says that Welado is the one village that refused to give a girl, if requested, to the radja. This is because once a Bone prince mistreated a girl of this kampong who was given to him. The Sulewatang explained the case by telling me that this kampong was formerly Toridjene. They are Badjo, now in the process of acculturation, and still have an accent in Buginese.

197 As for accent and languages in this area, I am told that
191 Makassarese is so close to Buginese that it can be understood by either speaker when speaking to the other in ones' own language (like Danish and Norwegian). But, they say, it sounds funny. Also, they can tell what part of the Buginese area a person comes from by his accent, for example, if a person comes from Wadjo.

186 I got nowhere regarding the traditional enmities question. [presumably with the Makassarese--Analyst] They seem to have forgotten the whole business, and maybe it was this way formerly. Once the war was over, it may have been like a game.

772 I also got nowhere on cosmology linked with the state, nor with magical ideas. They are dead on this matter, or else they are covering up.

443 As for the market, this is definitely a five-day market
366 week area although there are twice-a-week markets, and, as in Pampanua, five-day-a-week markets. One lad said that there are interlocking circles of markets. Thus Watumpone gears in with at least two. One runs to the west including Palakka and (I presume) three other kampongs with markets

576 a chair on the side wall and not at the center table with me
565 and the Sulewatang, even though there was a fourth chair there! The complete etiquette of abasement is appropriate. One other point of etiquette; a lower must call on a higher and not vice versa. Thus the Kepala kampong was surprised when I said I'd pick him up at his house for a trip.

829 As for ideas linked with class, the Kepala kampong agreed
565 that the commoners and slaves know that the nobles are from heaven, and they have a word like tumanurung in Makassarese this

789 Andi finally agreed that they think that not only the radja
565 but all nobles have some magic power. The greatness or
778 smallness of this power depends on their relative rank. (And it does not die with death, as is evidenced by the pilgrimages to the graves of the royal, noble, and big-hadji dead).

565 As for marriage between classes, I have said enough about
582 this already. There is a taboo on a lower man marrying a
583 high woman, but vice versa is all right. And it is also all right if the man is just a little lower. In Wadjo, it is easier, and it is said that there is much (or I guess, some)marriage between higher women and lower men. To compensate for this, there is a higher price. The rule is so strong in Bone that noble women may sometimes never get married, as for example, Aru Pontjeng's daughter now (I can't understand this; he is only tjera-dua, I hear). Evidently there is no change in the rules of class endogamy.

565 We talked for a long while about the classes in general. I
582 found out that the Bone classes run a bit higher, class for
186 class, than those in Wadjo or in other places. Thus the Tomarilalang of Bone, although only tjera-tjitjing, is married to a 100 per cent royal woman of Wadjo. This is the same, as I remember, for the Aru Pontjeng, who is only tjera-dua. As far as Andi could be definite, there would then be something between the states. There are frequent marriages in the noble class between the states, and thus it is something like the European nobility again.

565 I went through the class system of Bone again, with this
197 result:

First, the royalty: 1. ana matola; 2. ana'radjeng (with much royal blood, descended from former radjas; one of these can become a radja if necessary).

Second, the nobility: (and with each major descending group there is a declining percentage of royal blood). 3. tjera tjitjing (one of this class could never become a radja formerly, but today the Arumpone is one); 4. tjera dua; 5. tjera tiga;

6. tjera ampat; 7. tjera lima; 8 tjera anam (no longer present); 9. tjera tudju (no longer present). These terms from 4 through 9, look like Malay terms. The Buginese equivalents for the latter part of each of them are as follows: dua, telu, ĕppa, lima, ĕneng, pitu. The line between the nobility and the next group, that of the commoners, is very vague. 565 197

Third, the commoners: 10. to detjeng; 11. to samar.

Fourth, the slaves: 12. etc. (many kinds).

The term ana'apona ma'padjunge is merely the name for all nobility including members of the 100 per cent royalty.

As for the kampong and district nobility, they said that the usual thing is that the wanua nobility will run the gamut, but that in the kampong nobles are usually not of classes above tjera lima, and maybe the highest kampong noble may not belong to a rank above tjera ampat. The wanua heads are mostly ana'apona ma'padjunge, but evidently need not be. 565 622 632

As for the magical power of nobles, I have already indicated the general trend. Andi thought over the kekuatan adjaib [miraculous power] beliefs and agrees that the ordinary folk here have the idea that all nobles have it, by degrees. I asked whether this was because they brought it with them from heaven, while the earth people, the commoners, may have their special magic too. (And also for the slaves? Maybe not, as they are, I think, outside the adat sphere and many are of Toradja origin anyway.) I did not get much reaction to this, but it would line up with the mythology and with the special roles of the commoner bissu in regard to the aradjang, and it would also be like the Toradja ritual indispensability of the slaves even, for example, to the extent that one such body must be in every niche grave. It would also tie in with the special position of the Sakai in Negri Sembilan; and with the tuan tanah ritual in the eastern islands. 565 789 778 171

In regard to the slaves, Denzo in Soppeng says that they are mostly descended from the Toradja, though some are descended from enslaved Buginese. Everyone knows that Toradja slaves were sold in the markets here 50 years ago. 567

As for religion, there has not been much change evidently, though I suspect that the pagan survivals have weakened a great deal. I see that it is mainly the old men who know the names of the various spirits, and Andi and his coevals do not know them. This may be partly modernization in general, but Mohammedanism undoubtedly has been important here. There are no Christians, except among the Chinese. There are no missions, but it is said that they could enter without any trouble (which I doubt, after talking with Denzo). They 771 778 182 [797]